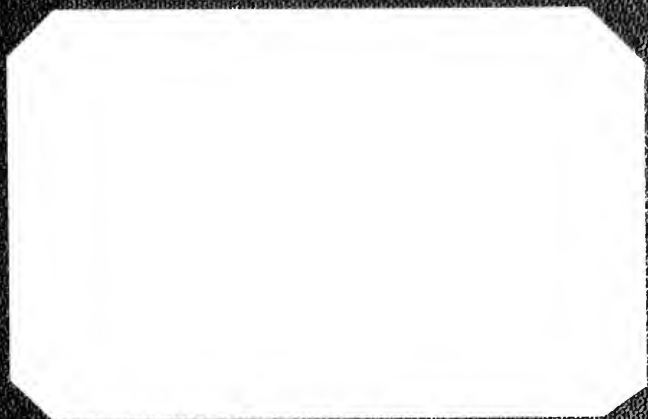


E

670

R3 92

copy 2





Class E 670. _____

Book .R392 _____

Copy e

PEACE OR WAR.

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION ILLUSTRATED BY FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

Speeches of Senators Morton of Indiana, Stewart and Nye of Nevada,

delivered in the United States Senate, Thursday and Friday, July 9th and 10th, 1868, on the bill offered by SENATOR EDMUNDS, of Vermont, to regulate the counting of the Electoral vote.

Mr. MORTON, said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I do not rise so much to discuss the merits of these several propositions as to say that I shall vote for that offered by the Senator from Vermont, [Mr. EDMUNDS,] believing that it is more specific and direct than the other two; but perhaps any one of them would answer the purpose.

I desire, however, to say one word in regard to the importance of this measure. We have been noting the proceedings of a convention held in the city of New York, which has but just adjourned. I have read the resolutions adopted by that convention, the platform of principles it has laid down, and upon which its candidates have been placed; and I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the issue that is presented to the country by this platform and by the character of these candidates.

General Grant, in his letter of acceptance, said, "Let us have peace;" but the Democratic party by their Convention in New York have said, "Let us have war; there shall be no peace." They have declared in substance, I might say perhaps, in direct terms, that the reconstruction of these States under the several acts of Congress shall not be permitted to stand, but shall be overturned by military force if they get the power. They have announced that there shall be no peace in this country; that there shall be no settlement of our troubles except upon the condition of the triumph of those who have been in rebellion. This platform and these nominations are a declaration of renewal of the rebellion. Let me call your attention to a part of the eighth resolution in regard to this very question. In speaking of the reconstruction of the States, they go on to say that the power to regulate suffrage exists with "each State," making no difference between

loyal States that have been at peace and States that have been in rebellion, putting them all upon the same footing:

"And that any attempt by Congress on any pretext whatever—"

That is, upon the "pretext" of the rebellion, if you please—

"to deprive the State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution; and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of Government."

Mr. HOWARD. Read the rest of it.

Mr. MORTON. Yes, sir, I will read the balance of it:

"And can only end in a single centralized and consolidated Government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of coequal States, and that we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."

This convention has called upon the rebels of the South to regard these governments organized by authority of acts of Congress by the people of those States as usurpations, unconstitutional, and void, and has thereby invited them again to insurrection and rebellion. That is what that resolution means. There is where the Democratic party has placed itself and its candidate, that there shall be no acquiescence in the action of Congress, but that continued resistance is and shall be their policy. They have replied to General Grant by saying, "There shall be no peace, but the war shall be renewed." There can be no other policy for that party unless it acquiesces: If it does not accept these reconstruction acts there can be no policy but that of resistance and a renewal of the war.— They declare these reconstruction acts to be unconstitutional and void. Being void, nobody is bound to regard them; they have no authority over any one to coerce or to pun-

ish, and may be resisted by any one with impunity. That is not the language of this resolution, but it is the substance and the meaning of it; and in consequence of this it received the indorsement and the approbation of the hundreds of rebels who were in that Convention from the South, men who organized the rebel government and organized and led the rebel armies in battle. This, then, is the issue, a continuance of the war; a renewal of the rebellion; because it is either that, or it is submission and acquiescence to what has been done.

But, Mr. President, we are not left to grope for the meaning of this convention; we are not left even to seek for it by inference. We have a letter of General Francis P. Blair, written, I believe, less than one week ago, and this letter has been indorsed by that Convention this afternoon by his nomination as their candidate for the Vice Presidency. At least I am informed that he has been nominated.

Mr. POMEROY. Let us have the letter read. I want to hear it.

Mr. MORTON. It is as much a part of this platform as if it was incorporated in it, for the ink was hardly dry before it was indorsed by his nomination. I ask the Secretary to read the letter.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

WASHINGTON, June 30, 1868.

DEAR COLONEL: In reply to your inquiries I beg leave to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic convention, and to submit the following, as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest:

The reconstruction policy of the Radicals will be complete before the next election; the States so long excluded will have been admitted; negro suffrage established and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in both branches of Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the Radical plan of reconstruction by congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can only be overthrown by the authority of the Executive who is sworn to maintain the Constitution and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

If the President elected by the Democracy enforces or permits others to enforce these reconstruction acts, the Radicals by the accession of twenty spurious Senators and fifty Representatives will control both branches of Congress, and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the Army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South, and with the cooperation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withhold the public

judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us; shall we submit to the usurpations by which the Government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith, and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do in regard to any of these with a Congress in both branches controlled by the carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenues and resources of the Government and destroy its credit—make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by tramping into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the convention upon this issue, but it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle.

Your friend,
Colonel JAMES O. BROADHEAD.

FRANK P. BLAIR.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, that is the Democratic platform. General Blair, whatever you may say of him, is a bold, outspoken man, and he spoke the sentiment of that Convention. He says, "Upon these sentiments I want to stand before the Convention;" and upon those sentiments he was nominated. Therefore, I say that the language of the Democratic Convention at New York to the whole country is war; resistance by force of arms to Congressional legislation; the overthrow by force of arms of the governments that have been erected in the rebel States under the laws enacted by Congress; the continuance of this rebellion; continuance of this struggle in a somewhat different form, but still the same struggle, contending for the same principles. It is now announced formally, not at Montgomery, not at Richmond, but at New York. The country need not be at any loss to understand the character of the contest upon which we are entering. It is not one of peace and acquiescence, of consolidation whereby the ravages of war may be repaired; but it is a new declaration of war; a new announcement of the rebellion under somewhat different circumstances, but under circumstances formidable, dangerous, and solemn. Let the country lock the struggle in the face.

General Blair has said truly that all that is said about greenbacks and bonds and questions of finance is mere nonsense. The great issue is the question of overturning the new State governments by force, the restoration of the power of the rebels, or as they call it the white men's government in those States, and all the rest is leather and prunella. We owe a debt of gratitude to General Blair for his frankness. There need be no decep-

tion practiced now, and there can be none. If Seymour shall be elected upon that platform he stands pledged to use the army of the United States for the purpose of overturning the governments that have been established in the South by the voice of the whole people, and by that army to place the power back again into the hands of the rebels. They were there with him in that Convention. They have given to him their counsel. They have indorsed Mr. Seymour, and the Convention and all have indorsed General Francis P. Blair.

I know that they shall be told in the North-west that they intend to have the same currency for the Government and the people, for the bondholder and the laborer. They will proclaim taxation of the bonds, as the great issue upon which they expect to get votes; but that will be a deception. The great issue underlying the whole contest—and we have the solemn declaration of their candidate for Vice President to that effect—will be the renewal of the war to overturn the State governments that have just been established under the acts of Congress. General Blair has relieved the Republican party of a great deal of labor. He has unmasked the enemy with whom we have to deal, and he has placed before the country the very issue, peace or war.

SPEECH OF SENATOR STEWART.

Mr. President, I see the embarrassment under which the Democratic party is laboring; and the misfortune that has befallen it to-day will no doubt embarrass it still more hereafter. I see the embarrassment that this particular bill presents to the members of that party. Individuals of that party say they intend revolution, and Frank P. Blair sought to be nominated upon that issue. He avows his purpose of overturning seven States of this Union now entitled to representation upon this floor. He will do it by revolution. He says it cannot be done by legislation, because the Senate is in the way; it must be done by force. I have been reading the platform, and I find that it dodges the question and declares that the reconstruction measures are unconstitutional and void.

The Democratic party, it appears, are unwilling to say, in express language, what they intend to do with a portion of the States in this Union, whether they intend again to put them out. The Democratic party once broke up the governments of those States; we have partially restored them. None of them have come square up to the point except Mr. Frank Blair. He has come up to it pretty squarely. I do not understand the Senator from Pennsylvania on that issue.

I say this bill is undoubtedly embarrassing to them, because we tell them exactly what we intend to do; that we intend that every State restored to representation in this Union, that shall have been reorganized, shall vote and participate in the Presidential election; that no disorganized rebel State shall vote; that all the States represented in Congress shall vote. That is the exact rule which we followed in 1864, and for which the Senator from Pennsylvania himself voted. We intend to take that broad, honest ground in advance; and we do not fear the threats of individuals, or of the whole Democratic party, that they will again attempt to destroy this Government. We want to have it distinctly understood that none but legitimate State governments shall be represented in Congress and the Electoral College, and that they shall be represented; and then we want to see which side of that issue the Democratic party will take. I know that it is embarrassing to them to admit that the work of reconstruction is legally, justly, and honestly progressing, notwithstanding all the obstructions that the Executive, that an organized band of rebels in the South, that the organized Democracy, and all the elements that are bad in this country put together, have been able to throw in the way. Notwithstanding all the obstructions of these elements that are attempting to destroy our country, the work is progressing—the States are being restored. We shall not be scared because the gentlemen who have organized these governments in the South, and have come here backed up by a loyal constituency, are denounced as “carpet-baggers” by the rebel leaders in New York, who treated as honored guests Forrest and Wade Hampton. We had to fight once before against the same horde of men, many of the leaders of whom were in New York. We know that they are powerful, but we whipped them once. Let them try again to pull down the Government that we build up. Let them laugh at the “carpet-baggers” as much as they please. We have seen all the schemes they concocted vanish into thin air. We know Seymour. He is not ready to revolutionize. I hold in my hand a speech of his made in 1863 which has enough sophistry, if it had been accompanied by the courage of a Hampton or a Forrest, to have plunged the North into civil war. He dare not lay his hand upon a State that we reorganize. Frank Blair is a braver man and an honest man, and he told plainly what they would like to do; but I tell you, sir, the Democracy dare not come up and say that they will tear down a single State of this Union. They dare not go before the people on that issue.

This is no new doctrine. It has been dis-

cussed over and over in this Hall. Let the Democracy, if they dare, go before the country saying that they will tear down and put out of the Union the seven reorganized States. I should like to have them sound the tocsin of war and see if the American people are prepared for another revolution. What Frank Blair says means revolution. These men cannot be turned from these Halls except by violence; these State organizations cannot be overthrown except by the shedding of blood.

Mr. HOWARD. It cannot be done in that way either.

Mr. STEWART. It cannot be done by modern Democracy in that way; and when they dare announce any such purpose they will have fewer followers than they had on a former occasion. I have before me their platform. They are going to pretend to the ignorant and the vicious that this means "we will wipe out of existence every State that has been redeemed," and when they meet a man who has a little money and does not want to go to war they will say "we are opposed to violence and willing to let things take their own course."

I want to pass this bill beforehand. I do not want to wait until after the election has taken place and then pass a law which they will call *ex post facto*. I want the people to know exactly what they are voting on, and who has a right to vote, before the election, so as to avoid any unpleasant consequences. The people of the United States want no more revolution, no more war. The people of the South do not believe they can subjugate us. They do not believe they can reverse the verdict of the war. They cannot humiliate the Union soldiers who sustained the old flag.

Now, what is there in this bill? It is simply a declaration that the States represented in Congress that have been organized shall vote in the Electoral College, and none others. The Senator from Pennsylvania says that unless the disorganized vote the organized shall not; that unless you let the three disorganized States that have not yet complied with our terms, that are not represented in Congress, vote, the represented States shall not vote. What does that mean? The Democratic party will not let organized States, States represented in these Halls, vote. I will not discuss the power of Congress, but I say there is not power enough in the Democratic party, with the Executive at their head, to maintain the position that they can put one of these States out of the Union. How are you going to prevent one of these States from voting? How are you going to prevent her vote from being counted? In no other way than by putting her out of the Union.

If that is the new declaration of war we are to meet let us know the fact now, and let us fight the battle before the people on that issue. The necessity of this bill has become apparent from this discussion. We want to know what are the purposes of this party, whether they mean revolution or whether they mean peace; whether they mean war and rapine and plunder and overthrow of the Government, and the prevention of the represented States from voting, or whether they mean to submit to the law. I think the Democratic party have had enough of war. I think they have had enough of tearing down States. But perhaps the ovation which the rebel generals received in New York has inspired them with new hope, and they think the "little unpleasantness" did not amount to much after all. Perhaps they are prepared to join the Northern Democracy in another effort to put States out of the Union, and to overthrow State organizations; but I think they will hesitate a little.

It is well enough for us to make the declaration contained in this bill, so that the people will know where we stand; but it is not to be supposed that the Democratic party are going to declare anything affirmatively on such a question. After having destroyed their best men by the two-thirds rule, and having got men that we are accustomed to, that we know all about, we have no apprehensions. We all know the connection of Seymour with New York politics during the war. We know how he acted during the New York riots. We know how his appeals to his friends in the city of New York affected the loyal masses of the country. We know how we in the West felt at the obstruction of Seymour to the progress of the war. We know what power he had then, and we believe that he evinced a disposition, if he had had the requisite courage to back his disposition, to plunge the whole country in war. We have seen him go as far up to the verge of revolution as he dare go, but he has had a little experience since then.

I hold in my hands now a speech of Hon. Horatio Seymour, delivered on the 4th or 5th of July, 1863, a speech that I have read on several occasions. It is a speech full of fault-finding with the Government, putting ideas in the minds of the people to make them dissatisfied, complaining of your sectional strife and your sectional war, calculated in every way to breed discontent; and this, too, when the country was in the most imminent peril. At that critical time, instead of coming forward and vindicating the authority of the Government, we find Horatio Seymour filling the minds of the people with distrust and reverting to the mistakes of the Government. With a stern Governor of

New York, such a Governor as Indiana had, there would have been no New York riots. With such a Governor as Ohio had there would have been no New York riots. The weight of that great State, the moral influence of its Governor was thrown against the cause of the Union in such a manner and at such a time as to prolong the war, I verily believe, more than one whole year. That Governor had all his predictions falsified, for he predicted failure all the time. After having seen our arms ride triumphant over a thousand battle-fields; after having seen the rebellion put down; after having seen the loyal Congress engaged for four years in reconstruction and restoration, he is now the candidate of those opposed to the gallant leader of the armies that saved the nation. That noble man is at the head of the great party who conducted the war, and who have been endeavoring, against the efforts of rebels, Democrats and the Executive, to restore this Government. I say that after all this Seymour has not the nerve to do what this platform intimates that the Democracy will do, namely, tear down the States that have been built up.

SPEECH OF SENATOR J. W. NYE.

Mr. President, I care but little whether the amendment offered by the Senator from New York is adopted or not. It amounts to about the same thing as the original proposition. But I am not willing to let go unchallenged the things that have come from the honorable Senator from Kentucky.—While he has been speaking I have thought whether there should not be a change in the form of the Lord's Prayer in Kentucky: "Give us this day our daily bread, if consistent with the Constitution; but be sure, O Lord, give us white bread made for white men." That form, I think, would be adapted to the creed which the honorable Senator has just proposed.

In the course of an existence as long as that of the honorable Senator from Kentucky, there is hardly a phase of political life that he has not seen. I was forcibly impressed with that in his allusion to 1840. Where, then, was the honorable Senator's heart?

Mr. DAVIS. Exactly where it is now, for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the law.

Mr. NYE. I recollect very distinctly that very year hearing the distinguished Senator denounce the Democracy in more unmeasured terms than he is capable of denouncing the Republican party. They had beaten his pet, Mr. Clay, and he never has forgiven them. He came here at the commencement

of this rebellion a strong Union man; and he says now that he hugs to his very soul a platform that disunionists have made. I merely suggest these things to show that where next he may be found, the Lord only knows, in the new catechism which Kentucky may put forth.

He has spoken of the barbarities of some negro chieftain, whose name I did not understand, of whom he read. And yet those barbarities pale into insignificance in comparison with the butchery of Forrest at Fort Pillow; and he was one of the men who made the platform that my honorable friend loves so well. Above all men living, the honorable Senator is the last one, if he can hug such a thing to his bosom, to be shocked at the barbarities of barbarism, untutored as it is.

Mr. President, the honorable Senator says that the Republican party will die. So it will. So will the honorable Senator die. So will all the parties he has belonged to die. But, sir, the fruits that this Republican party has brought forth will never die. They have not expended their strength, like the honorable Senator, in trying to depress a race numbering four millions in our midst. They have not taxed their ingenuity to find arguments by which they could make the bonds with which the slaves were bound strong. Their boast is, and will be when the honorable Senator's memory will be forgotten, that they felt for those who were in bonds as though they were bound with them, and broke the shackles that made man a slave. Let the honorable Senator and his colleagues and his coadjutors glory in their oppression, and glory in the fact that they have trampled the oppressed deeper in the mire of oppression where they found them. But, sir, let it be my boast and the boast of the party to which I belong, that there is not a man so low but what they would elevate him to the pure, highest heavens where angels dwell. Sir, that seems to me to be more in accordance with the spirit of our Master; that is more in accordance with the spirit of republican institutions; and that sentiment will grow. Let not the honorable Senator think that that sentiment will die. No, sir, it is now having its second birth amid the troubles and conflicts and toils of arms and civil strife.

Sir, I witnessed the gathering from which salvation is to come, which the honorable Senator perches upon and proclaims to be his roost during the campaign. I witnessed this organization. I looked in upon it. What did I see? I wish I had a Hogarth's pencil to sketch it, or words in which I could convey the faintest idea of that group of indescribable animals. Who was there? Wade Hampton; and at the mention

of his name the Democracy shouted by order. That is what they call "fraternal love." Who else was there? Rhett, of South Carolina; it ought to be spelled with a *ch*. Who else was here? Hammond, who pronounced the people of the color of my honorable friend "mud-sills." Oh, what a source to look to for salvation! Who else was there? Forrest, the butcher. No milder name is fit to use as descriptive of him—a man who coldly murdered by order defenseless men who stacked their arms and surrendered. Tell me, sir, what kind of salvation you will get from that source? And where were they? In the largest city upon this continent. With whom were they associated? With men of the North. There sat Forrest and Seymour, the latter presiding over the deliberations, as they were called, at this convocation of unclean things. Whose voices were heard first? Men whose hands were red with loyal blood. Oh, the spirit of fraternity there exhibited! They always agreed. One was a traitor with a sword, and the other a traitor without a sword; that was all the difference. But how my honorable friend from Kentucky hugs their progeny! A sweet thing to hug! May your embrace be long and enduring!

Mr. President, what is this thing that the honorable Senator hugs so fondly? A greenback platform with an anti-greenback candidate.

Mr. SHERMAN. A greyback.

Mr. NYE. A greyback candidate.

Mr. SUMNER. On a greyback platform.

Mr. NYE. That is what I say. It is a platform for peace and a general for lieutenant on it, second in command, and a general who was nominated by rebels. I think, if my recollection is correct, an honorable gentleman from Kentucky nominated Frank Blair. I do not wonder that my honorable friend loves the platform. It is a platform whose every line and lineament is marked with repudiation. Is it for that that the distinguished Senator hugs it? It is a platform whose every line is a fraud and almost every word a lie; a platform of professions in which they do not believe, of hope to the head to be broken to the heart. That is the platform on which my honorable friend expects to ride into that happy haven where he is going to look with so much complacency, much as he describes Grant looking upon the battle-field, upon the destruction of the hosts of the Republican party. Perched away up on that uncertain roost he is going to have his vision satisfied by looking upon the ruins of those below. In 1864 I read a speech at quite a distance from here in which the honorable Senator was fully as sanguine in expression at least as now, that in 1864 the Republican party were

to be demolished; but the Republican party survived both the prediction of the honorable Senator and the power of his opposition.

Sir, to these saviours we are to look.—These are the men to whom in these troublesome times my honorable friend from Kentucky and those who act with him turn for protection. Who are they? Men who are yet counting the notches upon their swords that they wore gallantly by their sides for four or five years in an earnest, terrible struggle to overthrow this country. They are the saviours now who are going to uphold them! How are they going to uphold them? By overturning all that has been done to build up the waste places they made. When a man is sick he seeks a physician the most skillful he can find. When a nation is troubled the people seek the friends of the nation to uphold it. They feel its pulsations. They want men loyal to the country, loyal to our institutions. There is where I look for help, for aid in this struggle. But my honorable friend and the Democratic host with which he is surrounded look to the rebels. They will give you such protection as vultures give to lambs. They will give you the protection that Forrest gave at Fort Pillow, and the thousand bloody fields upon which we met. What, sir, trust a man with a ballot to uphold this country who has been for five years with the bullet trying to overthrow it! It is an insult to the intelligence of the world; and I assure the honorable Senator from Kentucky the world will not swallow the hook as greedily as he has, nor hug a platform so full of dead men's bones.

Mr. President, on earth or in heaven I would rather be found by the side of the blackest man in the country than with Forrest. How will stand the account of the loyal black man that has been led by the uncertain glimpses of his vision to follow that flag which had heretofore only been a symbol of oppression to him, and followed it faithfully to the end; how will his account stand in the day of judgment with the God who loves liberty and of whom liberty was born, beside the man who did all in his power to tear down the fairest fabric that liberty ever reared? and such is Forrest; such is Wade Hampton; such is all the Democratic party in the Southern States. There are not enough men in the Democratic party in the Southern States who were not rebels to count as "scattering;" and therefore I shall not hereafter in what I have to say of them draw any distinction.

I want this resolution introduced by the honorable Senator from Vermont to guard against the very catastrophe that the honorable Senator from Kentucky threatens us with. Sir, is Congress to inquire, and who is to keep register whether the votes cast for

General Grant are cast by colored men or white men? Who is going to see in the books when the ballot is deposited, which class of men it was who deposited it? Are the honorable Senators and his conferees going to have censurers upon the box? Are they going to stamp the ballot of the white man and not stamp the ballot of the black man? If not, what does the honorable Senator mean when he defiantly tells us that no matter what Congress may do, the vote that the white man casts will be the vote that is counted. Sir, I repudiate all such nonsense as that, as it appears to me to be.

But, sir, the honorable Senator has spoken very confidently of what the Democracy are going to do. I want to mention to the honorable Senator one or two things which the Republicans have done that will stay done. We have given the loyal men of the Southern States the ballot. Now, take it away, if you can, and show us the process by which you will do it. Let us see what you will do it with. They have availed themselves of that ballot. They have deposited it; they have put on the garment of citizenship, and I challenge the Democracy to touch one thread of that garment. It is stamped, it is sealed with the insignia of freedom, and I charge you lay not your hands upon it. Sir, it is the decree of a mighty people as irrevocable as the decree of God, and the honorable Senator may satisfy himself on that point. And the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRECKENRIDGE] last night seemed to be waiting for the voice of the people. Sir, you have had it twice; and the same voice that emanated from heaven is echoed back by man, *Vox populi vox Dei*. Touch not that seal; it is the freeman's power. I defy you to take it from him. Attempt that and bloodier scenes will be re-enacted upon the already fresh bloody fields. Sir, men fight for freedom. They will not lay it down. They have fought for freedom upon the battlefield; they won their quit-claim to liberty; they have got it; and let not the Democratic party dream of taking it away. And yet, sir, the honorable Senator, or those who act with him, find no sort of awakening, enlivening sentiment from this great fact, but the contrary.

Sir, there has not been a transaction on earth since the crucifixion that thrilled the world with such ecstatic joy as when the last shackle of the slave was broken and fell at his feet. Music never reached its perfection until they sang the song of universal freedom; and if I was at all accustomed to deal in fancy I could fancy now that I hear the angel chorus catching up the sound "Peace on earth and good will to man; the last slave is free; liberty is triumphant."

But over this my Democratic friends feel no jubilee. It is a source of mourning to them. Weep on, weep on; the seal is set; the Democratic party will never again have power in this nation until it changes its principles, until it ceases to be oppressive and learns to glory in freedom.

I am strengthened in this conviction by the proceedings of the last Democratic Convention. Whoever saw two such elements of weakness combined? If there was any folly in the Republican party, the wisdom of God has come in. Who could have conceived that two such men would have been born of that Democratic Convention. Blair, (to begin with the last and most unimportant first,) who, as restless as the spirit that fomented rebellion in heaven, who acknowledges no discipline to man or law, "a law unto himself;" who throws on defiantly to such patriots as Hampton and Forrest that the only way to put these States into their original status is for the President to take the helm and drive this Senate out. No wonder that it woke an echo in Wade Hampton's bosom and in Forrest's and in Hammond's; it was the old signal for rebellion again. They were going to get a Blair to lead them in that rebellion. The world knows that the health of the gentleman they have nominated for President is very precarious, and he refused, as many times as Caesar did the crown, to take it on account of his health. They have put forward this ticket in point of physical strength like the hyena, the strength in the hind legs to endure disease, its weak man ahead to be shoved of as Lincoln was, or in some other way, and then they will have got not only old rebels, but a new one with the whole machinery of government. It is well planned, and no wonder it awoke echoes of ecstasy in Forrest's and Hampton's bosom when they heard the name of Blair and his letter; and that is the platform and that the candidate that my friend from Kentucky loves so well.

Sir who is nominated for President? A man that I have known all my life; and a gentlemanly man he is undoubtedly, but no sounder man, politically, walks than he. I listened last night to a little running debate between my colleague and my honored friend from Pennsylvania, in which the latter bore testimony to the patriotism and fidelity of the then Governor of New York. I took occasion to reread last night the speech made by that distinguished gentleman on the 4th of July, 1863, just ten days before the bloodiest riot in the world. It was a terrible day, that 4th of July, for the rebels; there came up a wail of woe from the rebels at Vicksburg and at Gettysburg.

On that day, after a draft had been ordered by the President of the United States to fill

up the ranks, the head of this ticket was addressing a Democratic meeting in a hall in the city of New York, and he said that the law of necessity was never to be invoked by a nation, and said, not in the precise words, and they are here, that the mob could invoke the law of necessity as well as a nation. Sir, quick as the lightning's flash and as electric in its influence the mob did arise, caught up the idea that had been slumbering, touched the torch which engulfed a city in blood, and fatal were the consequences of that riot. I think eleven thousand—I am not quite certain as to the number—troops had to be taken from the army of the Potomac; a large number of troops had to be taken to the city of New York, the chief magistrate of which State is now at the head of the Democratic ticket, to do what? To keep peace in that city and to enforce the drafting of men and to put down the spirit of rebellion which was as rife there as at Charleston. The world will not forget the correspondence between Governor Seymour and General Dix, and I remember how my blood jumped a little quicker, old as I am, when the General informed the Governor at a certain time that he had troops enough there then to preserve the city and take care of him, too. Oh, such a patriot! Sir, if you look for salvation from that mob engendered by him go look at the ashes of the colored orphan asylum in New York. Would it have done the heart of the Senator from Kentucky good to have seen demons in human shape beating out the brains of black infancy? Look at the lurid light of the hospital reared by the best charity in the world. Look at the murder of O'Brien who was brutally hanged and his form mutilated worse than would have been done by the barbarians whom the honorable Senator described this morning. This Governor addressed these bloody-handed scoundrels, and called them "friends." They were his friends; they are to-day; it is no misnomer. They caught up the torch which he lighted; they had performed the work; he was congratulating them upon it, and he addressed them as "friends." They received him as such. He is.

Sir, I want the rule proposed by this joint resolution prescribed by legislation. I want no more trouble in this matter. We have wooed these States as a mother woos her first-born. We have given them milk in their weakness and meat in their strength. We have invited them back time after time to the mansion where there is bread enough and to spare, but they would not come. Now, sir, I do not propose that they shall come under the fiery or erratic lead of Blair or Seymour, and break into the mansion,

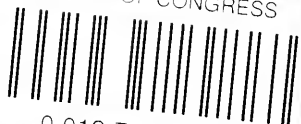
the door of which they have heretofore refused to enter. To do that they shall, at least so far as my vote is concerned, break over the forms of law.

Mr. President, indulge me in a word more. It is said that in Union there is strength. We have a platform made with entire unanimity. But recently, for four or five sweltering hot days in the city of New York, in that new-born Babel of Tammany, did hundreds of Democrats sweat, voting for this man and that man, with no result, and all the time there was a deep laid plan, which the mass of them did not comprehend, to get the very man they have got. I cannot help contrasting in my mind that Convention with the one at Chicago. The Convention at Chicago had just twice as many delegates as the one at New York. The first thing done there was to make a platform on which they all agreed, and the next thing was to nominate a President, and each State was called and each State answered until six hundred and three delegates had spoken, and every vote was for one man right off, without any caucus, without any consultation. They looked to him as the child looks to its father for protection. They remembered the thousand victories to which he had led them, and their eyes as involuntary turned upon him as a leader in the civil strife as in the strife of arms. To me that was a noble and inspiring sight. Let not the honorable Senator from Kentucky believe that such unity of sentiment is to be overborne by this fragmentary party called Democratic.

Let me refer to another difference. We have a warrior at the head and a man of peace emphatically as the second nominee, a man whose name is written as firmly and as boldly on the civil page of his country's history as General Grant's is on the military page. When Grant was leading our armies against the hosts of rebellion it was prophesied that Lee would never surrender. Now, the Senator from Kentucky, bolder, braver, and less considerate than Lee, says that this platform with its backers will never surrender. Let him that casteth off his armor boast; not he that putteth it on. Sir, there will not be enough of it for formal surrender. They will be suffered to go home without terms. Their arms are worthless, for they are the arms of error; their weapons are powerless, because they are untruthful. No, sir; my gallant friend from Kentucky will have to seek affiliation with another party before he gets in a majority. He will have to join the army of progress and freedom, hitching to no snub-post of the past, but marching on to that haven of destiny of man where all men shall be equal before the law.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 789 158 A